[P.380, B]

791 dreamers. This power made him extremely influential
224 among the Washo, and his descendants are considered
624 among the claimants for the 'chieftainship.' There ap-
pear to have been formalized prayers which were said
787 before the hunt by a man with power over rabbits.

[782] Today, rabbit hunts are invariably held on Sunday. In the words of one informant: 'Nowadays anybody can just say 'Let's have a hunt this Sunday!' They have to
224 hunt on Sunday because most of the men have jobs dur-
178 ing the week.'

●[464] The disintegration of the ritualized aspects of rabbit driving is not complete, however, and many Washo pre-
624 fer to hunt with a certain man who lives in the Indian
224 colony at Carson City. While no one will openly claim
178 that he has supernatural power, it seems clear that his presence is important to other Indians. His role
[182] is that of leader or captain who superintends the order
[177] and discipline of the line of hunters who today sweep a wide area, armed with shotguns. D'Azevedo, who was fortunate enough to take part in a hunt in 1955, states that prior to the hunt this man withdrew from the group. When he asked what the leader was doing he
224 met evasion, and he concluded that perhaps the man
535 was praying. In the period covered by the memory of my oldest informants, dances were often staged nightly during the rabbit drives. The dancing is invariably described as 'just for fun' and probably was more social than religious, but such dancing appears to have been part of other ceremonial or semiceremonial occasions such as the girls' dances, first-fish ceremonies and the pine-nut dances. It seems clear that whatever tendency there was to shift the ritualized aspects of antelope hunting to rabbit drives has been stemmed by a growing dependence of the Washo on wage labor which precludes their response to dream-inspired hunts.

224 Bear (198, 2553-2001).—Bear hunting appears never
[262] to have been a subsistence activity among the Washo. Many informants jocularly deny that bear meat was ever eaten, although bear were hunted. No Washo ever gave a direct answer to the question of why they hunted bear if they didn't eat the meat. Others stated that the bear might be eaten in extreme starvation conditions but was never eaten regularly.

224 On the other hand, almost all Washo men were able
539 to describe in detail the method of hunting and they obviously enjoyed telling bear-hunting stories. The following story told to me by one of the oldest men in Dresslerville, who claims it was told to him by a very old man, is consistent with the stories told by other informants.

> "There was hardly any Washo who kill bear. But I know this much . . . the man who went in there and did it tells me . . . bears have their own home in the rocks . . . a hole going in the rocks. Go in there naked with a knife or arrow in one hand and burning pitch in other . . . light scares him out [the bear], then other men shoot the bear in the mouth with poison arrow [see deer hunting for reference to poison] . . . get sick for four or five days, maybe a week. Then the man goes back in. Hardly any Indians could do this."

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[787] "This statement was made to point out to me that in other times only special people, inspired by dreams, would have suggested a rabbit hunt.

[791] "This kind of a statement was common and whenever it was made suggestions of special power were made explicit later in the conversation, or were implied by the attitude of the informant.

Minden around 1895.

6. (7) Susie Dick, her husband, son (Sammy Dick), brother, sister, and sister's husband and daughter. This is possible the same galis dangal and family seen in Plate V. 592 596

Truckee around 1900. This includes all the Indian residents of the area at that time.

7. (13) Captain Pete, his wife, mother (Minnie Zidoa), two sisters and two brothers (George and Little Jake), son (Hank Pete today, but called Will Morris at that time.), daughter and her husband (George Howard) and daughter (Lillian Hopper). One of Captain Pete's brothers (George) had a wife (Maggie) and a boy (Zenito). Little Jake was a "cousin-brother" to Hank Pete. Captain Pete's two sisters washed dishes at the Truckee Hotel. One of the sisters died from some dope called y¢nshi that had been given to her by a Chinese cook. [464] [165]

8. (4) Susie Howard and her two boys (Pete Howard and John Howard). A widow with no children who was "just a good friend" to Susie also lived with her.

9. (3) Tom Nanga ("pretend" or "comedian"), his wife (Maggie Nanga), and her sister (Susie). Tom did not marry his wife's sister.

10. (6) Truckee Dick (D¢b¢mu sh¢¢sh;can count"), his wife (Minnie), and their four boys: B¢bil ("walks zig-zag"), W¢g¢l (sounds made as a child when he was asking for m¢g¢l which means "mixed up", referring to the mixture of snow and pinenuts), B¢l¢bttok ("left handed little boy"), and Daodama l¢wa ¢a ("does not behave or obey parents").

11. (6) See below.

12. (6) This was an extremely unusual case where two galis dangal were built right next to each other. The two galis dangal were located on the opposite side (south) of the Truckee River from those previously mentioned and were inhabited by about 12 "rough" Washo Indians. Both of these galis dangal burned down when all of the occupants were in town and they then moved to Reno. [361] [731]

13. (6) Jack Pash (had a Maidu father and a Washo mother) had two galis dangal about 100 feet apart. He married one woman who was barren of children. She asked him to marry one of her sisters so that he could have some children. He married both of her sisters and had three sons (Jack, Shiput, and Mat) by the middle sister and a daughter by the youngest sister (Annie). Jack Pash, the oldest and middle sister, and the middle sister's three sons lived in one of the galis dangal. [361] [595]

other Indians rather late. The Washo never kept horses until sometime after 1850. In 1844 the Fremont party (Nevins 1956, 348) put a Washo on a horse and "enjoyed the unusual sight of an Indian who could not ride. He could not even guide the animal, and appeared to have no knowledge of horses." Fremont was given a Washo guide, a boy they called Melo (meaning "friend"), who was selected because he had seen Whites. Later on in the same year Hamilton's trapping party met Paiutes on the Carson River that had a few horses, understood a little Spanish, and had a few Spanish flintlock guns (Sieber 1951, 155-6).

In 1852 a band of Washo were reported in the possession of several American horses near Eagle Station (Thompson and West 1881, 147) while Major G. W. Ingalls (1913, 26) wrote that the Washo had no horses in 1859. Lowie (1939, 302) collected the following story about Washo contact with Whites.

"According to Dave, the first whites from the East reached the site of Wadsworth in the fall of the year on their way to California, driving mule, ox, or horse teams. There were many of them, and they did not halt. Women were in the emigrant wagon. One ox got away and was tended by the Indians, who rode and packed him, finally killing him for the meat, which they divided among the band."

In the late 1800's sweeping changes of the natural and social scene were wrought by mining, lumbering, farming, grazing, commercial fishing, tourism, and the growth of towns. By 1900 the Washo were culturally "reservation Indians," but without a reservation or a treaty with the U.S. Government. They had been alloted about 64,000 acres of land in the Pine Nut Hills as a pinenut reserve. In addition, about 30 Washo families each received trust lands in California, especially in Alpine County, under the General Allotment Act of 1887 and other later acts. The usual size for these "Indian homesteads" was 80 acres. These lands in California totaled 2,600 acres in 1945.

In 1917 the site of the Dresslerville Colony was obtained and in 1938 and 1940 three ranches were purchased adjacent to the colony for the Washo. The ranches were run by the Washo for several years. Political troubles within the tribe forced them to lease to White ranchers. In addition, the Carson Colony of 160 acres was purchased for the Washo in 1940 (Realty Office, Carson Indian Agency).

Today Washo income comes mainly from wage work along with some rentals, social security, relief, and craftwork. Most of the wage work of the Washo living in Dresslerville and Woodfords is connected with farm and ranch work. With 100 years of association with Nevada ranch life, many Washo Indians are skilled ranch hands. However, none of the Washo own sizable farms or ranches today. With military service and World War II defense plant experience a number of Washo, particularly those residing in Carson City and Reno, have moved into skilled trades.

?:Food 8-5 (1952-1957)1960 NTS0 Washo NTS0

[P. 350, A]

I. THE WASHO INDIANS

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This chapter is a brief summary of what is known of aboriginal Washo culture, except for social organization, together with the principal changes it has undergone since the coming of the whites. The most significant characteristic of Washo acculturation from the point of view of this study has been the progressive individualization of the society. This can be seen most clearly in their economic life, where the old, cooperative methods of earning a livelihood have given way to individual wage work. The trend toward individualism has also affected ceremonial. The major ceremony of the year, the pine-nut dance, has been given up; and curing is less a group affair than it once was, with the exception of the peyotists, who constitute approximately ten per cent of the tribal membership. Warfare, another activity requiring group cooperation, was abandoned shortly after the coming of the whites. The effects upon social organization of this trend toward individualism will be traced in the following chapters.

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INFORMANTS

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The sketch of Washo culture which follows is based primarily upon the sources listed below and upon data which I gathered directly in the field. My principal informants were the following: Nancy Emm, Clara Frank, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete, all of Dresslerville, Nevada; Roy Jamea, Woodfords, California; Caesar John, Markleeville, California; and Henry Rupert, Carson City, Nevada.

SOURCES

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Ethnographic accounts of the Washo are few. The principal ones are by Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), and Lowie (1939). Stewart (1944) and Siskin (MS) have contributed two excellent studies of Washo peyotism, and Kroeber (1907) has published a brief sketch of the Washo language, which contains a list of kinship terms. Other major sources are Dangberg's (1937) collection of myths, Kroeber's (1925) brief summary of the then available data on Washo culture, Stewart's (1941) list of cultural elements, and Heizer and Elsasser's (1953) study of the archaeology of the central Sierra Nevada.

LOCATION

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The Washo Indians are a small, isolated group who speak a language tentatively placed in the Hokan stock (Sapir, 1928, p. 139). In aboriginal times they occupied the extreme western edge of Nevada and eastern California. The eastern part of their territory lay in the Great Basin and the western part in the Sierra Nevada. Aboriginal Washo territory extended from Honey Lake in the north to Sonora Pass in the south. The eastern boundary ran from Sonora Pass northward along the crest of the Pine Nut Mountains; it then turned west

[P.352,A]

In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security payments and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 195. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nonrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

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[P 354, B]

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old, prewhite culture survives most strongly in language, ceremony, and, as we shall see in the next chapter, social structure. The most important change with reference to this study has been the lessening of cooperative activity. This trend has progressed farthest in economics. Although the economic unit has always been the nuclear family, aboriginal economic activity emphasized group cooperation much more than it does today. The modern Indian works for wages; he is part of the larger society where economic activity is impersonal and one's coworkers may be relative strangers. If an Indian family so chooses, it can be economically independent of relatives and friends. This same trend is visible to a lesser extent in ceremonials. The prewhite curing ceremony was a group affair; but modern, white medicine is essentially a relationship between doctor and patient. There is no longer a large group of friends and relatives standing by to lend moral support. Some ceremonies, such as the pine-nut dance, have disappeared completely.

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8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Washo Peyote Songs

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Northwestern University

I

The Washo

THE Washo people of Nevada and California have been described linguistically as a small Hokan-speaking group among the Shoshonean-speaking peoples of the Great Basin (Kroeber 1907; Lowie 1939). They formerly inhabited a relatively abundant territory extending from Honey Lake in the north to Antelope Valley and Sonora Pass in the south, and from the Pinenut Range east of Carson Valley in Nevada to Lake Tahoe and the summit of the Sierra-Nevada Mountains of California in the west. Present population is variously reported at between 400 and 1000 individuals; the figures on file at the Nevada Indian Agency in Stewart, Nevada, support the larger estimates. The Washo were formerly distributed in small, band-like communities composed of semi-exogamous extended families which made use of the full range of their diversified setting in hunting and gathering, and were thus a highly mobile population. In recent times, however, there has been an increasing tendency to cluster in small colonies in or near the older white settlements of Nevada and California, and on the few remaining allotment acres provided by the government many years ago. The major source of money-income for families is provided by those members who are employed as laborers on road-construction gangs, ranches, and farms. A few women work as servants in the towns and resorts. There is little use of the land for agricultural purposes, while hunting, fishing, and gathering still provide an important part of subsistence. Despite the often drastic conditions of acculturation during the past one hundred years, the Washo have maintained considerable homogeneity as an ethnic and cultural minority.

The Peyotists

Peyotism among the Washo is scarcely more than twenty years old, having been introduced by one Ben Lancaster, a member of the tribe who had learned the ritual and ideology during a long sojourn among eastern and southern tribes. In 1936 he started the proselyting which resulted in the creation of an enthusiastic group of Washo and Paiute adherents during the period 1936–39. By 1940, however, the movement had already become defunct, and meetings were no longer held in Washo territory. Ben Lancaster continued to preside over the embittered and secretive remnants of the cult, which consisted of a handful of loyal Paiute and a very few Washo members. He also erected an

Frustrations did not begin until later

childhood when boys and girls found their omnipotent parents subjected to a dominant white population (Eggan, 1950, 231), and when they began to recognize the difficulties of obtaining a subsistence living in their extremely harsh natural environment.

It is of interest that just as frustrations were not imposed until later childhood, so knowledge and fear of shamans was acquired comparatively late, between the ages of five and 10. Mead has suggested in her work that the anxiety of a mother over sorcery can be transmitted to an infant (1942, 57), and the same was probably true for the Washo; but in terms of directed learning, the adults were careful not to begin to instruct children at too early an age on this matter. Parents mentioned animals when trying to frighten young children into obedience, but sorcerers were never referred to for this purpose. The reason given by one elderly man for waiting so long to tell them that so-called "bad" Indian doctors were the cause of sickness and death was that children were particularly susceptible to being witched. If they were threatened or even told about the power of the shamans, the parents might be overheard by one of the shamans who would then actually make the child ill to accommodate, or spite, the adults.

In discussing the Washo of the 1930's, we have been concerned with their beliefs in witchcraft, the child rearing patterns that were characterized by first permissive and then restraining practices, and the education of the children regarding witchcraft. Each of these had changed by the time of our study in 1956.

From my observations and the opinions of my elderly informants, the child rearing practices had become more severe than those described over a decade earlier in the literature. The ideal pattern of attending to the baby's needs immediately was no longer adhered to in practice. Babies were left to scream in their baskets for long periods of time before their mothers attended to them. Toilet training often began before the child was a year old. With mothers going off to work during the day in the neighboring white community, younger children were often put in the care of older siblings who resented this encroachment on their freedom and therefore ignored their charges as much as possible. In the past, parents "spoke" to their offspring because they did not think an infant was responsible for any of his misdeeds, and also because talking frequently obtained the desired response. This changed to frequent employment of corporal punishment. The social and natural environment, which the Dresslerville Washo in particular faced, remained a difficult one, and the frustrations incurred in becoming a self-supporting member of the adult community did not seem to have greatly changed since the 1930's. An independently arrived at judgment of these circumstances was made by Scotch (1957, 84-5) at approximately the same time as our study:

shown that increasing age is associated with increasing percentages of hypertension, the correlation of younger age with white schooling would tend to blur real blood pressure differences between the groups with different educational experiences. To put it another way, the finding that Washo students from white schools had more hypertension than others occurred despite the fact that these were younger Washo, whom we would normally expect to have lower pressures.

Discussion

The long standing hypothesis that stress is associated with hypertension, possibly figuring in its etiology, is supported by the data in the present study. The fact that Washo blood pressure levels are high either when compared to acceptable normal limits, or to mean levels of other societies throughout the world (for a discussion of comparisons of mean blood pressure levels of the Washo with those of a number of other groups, see Scotch, 1957, 42, 93) may be attributed under this hypothesis to the stresses to which the Washo are subject. Chief among these are poverty and the discrimination the Washo face as an extremely small minority group within the dominant white culture of Nevada. Furthermore, gainful employment is extremely difficult to get, first, because there are so few jobs available in Nevada that do not involve gambling enterprises and, secondly, because of discrimination. Further, attempts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to alleviate the economic situation by such schemes as the relocation plan had met with complete rejection at the time of the study. To our knowledge, not a single Washo had agreed to be relocated despite the many attractive features of the plan. When Washo were interviewed concerning their reluctance to relocate, their typical attitude might be expressed:

> "Things are bad enough here where we only have to associate with whites for limited periods of time, but at least we continue to live within the tribe. We maintain many of our customs, and we know and understand our neighbors. But if we agreed to move to a new city we would be torn from our land and tribe and we would have to compete with whites on the whites' home grounds. It is better to suffer from poverty in a situation we are familiar with than to take a chance to make a decent living but live in an unfamiliar situation."

With this kind of attitude is associated a rather pessimistic world view.

as a food source. It is possible that the Washo did not rely as much on the Artemisian sources and therefore were not as seriously discomforted by cattle grazing as were the Paiutes. It is during this early period of white intrusion that we see Paiutes also becoming hangers-on around white settlements and becoming dependents of individual white ranchers (Steward, 1938, 8).

The above-described alteration of the environment is significant in terms of differential response because it operated fairly uniformly on all the Washo, while Paiutes began to experience inequalities of opportunity in various bands. This, we might postulate, could have led to new band alignments among the Paiutes as families left bands in depleted areas to join bands in more provident areas. Secondly it might lead to interband friction if entire bands attempted to operate as entities in areas where others had habitually gathered and hunted.

This period marks the first distinct differences in response to white occupation between the two groups.

The Washo apparently continued in the same patterns that they had earlier. Numbers of Washo gradually drifted into the Indian towns on the outskirts of white settlements. Others, in bands, began to reside more or less permanently on ranches, becoming dependents of individual white ranchers. In return for odd jobs and, perhaps, as a bribe to prevent theft, the Indians received handouts. Their hunting activities were appreciated by whites because they helped reduce the wild animal competition with domestic animals for grazing. An additional factor may also have been that a band of Indians made women available to cowboys and ranch hands, an important element in a woman-short frontier area.

Property lines, railroads and lumber flumes interrupted the migration trails of the Washo, upsetting the traditional band-land relationship. Although gathering and hunting continued, it appears to have lost its quality of organizing Washo life.

In the bands that squatted on the property of ranchers, women appear to have become the foci of social organization. This is probably because they were able to earn money as housekeepers, kitchen help and casual prostitutes while remaining with the family unit, but men were forced to leave the family to earn money in seasonal farm labor, lumbering, woodchopping, construction, hunting and fishing.

The 1850's mark the beginning of Paiute hostility toward the white man. Bands of mounted Paiute under the leadership of war chiefs began raiding herds, attacking outlying ranches and harassing wagon trains.

Northern Paiute NR13

The automobile is used by both groups. Only a few old women among the Washo still weave baskets. Gathering lore is still passed on among Washo women, although there is a tendency to hide this from whites. Only the bedrock mortar, basketry, pinyon picking tools and rabbitskin blankets seem to have survived as useful items in modern Washo life. The colorful paraphernalia of the Peyote Church is, of course, inspired by modern Peyotists and does not represent aboriginal Washo survivals. The Washo have turned to day-labor and odd-jobbing for economic support and have rejected agriculture or ranching, although there is a growing admiration for the cowboy. The Paiute have become to a large extent relatively successful farmers.

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Washo change, then, can be characterized as an attempt to adapt aboriginal patterns to the new situations created by the entrance of the white man.

The Paiute, on the other hand, must be described as attempting to find new orientations of social and cultural behavior to meet the changing situation. We see three major shifts in Paiute activity over the past century.

The differences in response have been related to historic relationships with other Indian groups which have their basis in the distribution of the buffalo.

It has been suggested that the buffalo once extended much farther south and west than they did in the 1840's and that the Paiute shared a common ecological adaptation with other peoples in the northern part of the Basin. The withdrawal of the bison created two environmental zones but did not break off intertribal relations based on the former common subsistence patterns. Thus, when the Paiute were further impoverished by the introduction of white livestock into their gathering areas they responded by taking up the horse and a modified war complex, as revealed to them by visiting Shoshoni and Bannock, and entering into hostile actions against the whites. This led the whites to treat Paiutes as a unit, and, after their final defeat, to assign them to reservations. The reservation system not only emphasized Paiute unity and encouraged political development but also provided land for farming.

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The Washo, on the other hand, lived largely outside the area of buffalo range and therefore suffered no loss or ecological imbalance because the big animals became extinct in the region. Their response to the white man was simply to attempt to utilize what he brought into the new area and to modify the relatively successful Washo adaptation as little as possible. As a result, Washo organization, based on ecology, broke down as the ecology changed. The Washo lost even the minor tribal structure they had once had; bands changed and finally disappeared. The lack of unity prevented this group from

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3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

231 Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still
[489] pedestrian. Modern informants in their fifties confirm this, and recall acorn gathering, hunting, and pinenut trips made on foot. Older white informants recall that the Indians had "a few" horses in their boyhood, which was in the 1880's.

177 222 492 Washo informants report that part of their recompense for assisting in harvests was the transportation to the pinenut groves furnished by the ranchers. This shortened the time consumed in traveling, and allowed the Washo to pick more nuts because the return trip was also made in wagons furnished by the whites.

175 177 492 764 Another newspaper account of the late 19th century reports that the Washo of the Genoa colony borrowed a team and wagon in order to transport the body of a well known Indian woman to the Indian cemetery.

177 423 [233] Of other livestock there is no report. Cattle were probably killed and eaten when opportunity or income made it possible, but no one, white or Washo, can recall any attempt at animal husbandry. One suspects that any such attempt would have been quickly discouraged by white ranchers. There was no long frontier period during which land ownership was ambiguous in Nevada. Less than 20 years after the first settlement Nevada was admitted as a state, and, soon after, stock laws that encouraged fencing and other clarification of land holdings were instituted. Timber and water rights were extremely profitable almost from the beginning of white settlement and were, therefore, quickly secured by law and protected. Some of the Washo early established claims under squatters' rights or homestead laws and secured legally protected lands for themselves. However, most such claims were made in areas considered as winter camps with reference to wood, water, [313] and shelter rather than grazing. In later times such claims proved to be [464] valuable for timber, and many Washo became profitably involved in the lumbering business in positions varying from lumberjack to timber cruiser, buyer or hauler, laborer in lumber mills, and in one instance the owner of 177 a lumber mill. In the 1890's many Washo became owners of teams of horses 222 and wagons, which they used in their subsistence rounds. The acorn gather- 492 ing trip to Big Trees in Calaveras County was made by several families at a time. The traditional en route camping spots were often bypassed in favor of locations with grass for grazing the teams. Similar trips were made to Placerville to pick acorns. In both instances, these trips became possible 177 only after the whites had constructed roads over the mountains. Their in- 241 volvement in the agricultural processes of white men had taught most Washo 871 men the basic techniques of driving teams hitched to mowers, hay rakes, or [492] wagons by the 1890's. Farm skills were taught at the Stewart Indian School, which for a number of years served only local Indians. However, most men

However, most men who attended Stewart express resentment at being worked on the school farm, although they evidence pride over their attendance and resent bitterly that the school now serves Indians of many tribes. 177 241 871 [86]

In the past and today, local white folklore holds that Washo are inexpert horsemen and cannot learn to be cowboys. I can neither confirm nor deny this opinion, because I failed to see a single Washo on horseback during my visit. One man, biologically if not culturally a Washo, owns a string of pack and riding horses which he rents to hunters for whom he serves as guide. However, this occupation appears to be one of the reasons other Washo feel he has "gone on the white man's road." 492 [422] [427] [178]

One significant but short-lived effect of the introduction of the horse was that it permitted rabbit hunters to kill more rabbits than in pre-horse days. Rabbit drives were usually conducted by men using bows and guns, the net having been abandoned very soon after white contact. Each man carried his kill on a belt that could hold up to 17 rabbits. A hunter with a horse could have his wife, son, or younger brother ride or lead a horse behind him to carry the kill. In this way, a good shot could take as many as 40 rabbits a day. However, the very nature of this utilization discouraged the wider institutionalization of the horse. Following the hunter required no equestrian skill and, in fact, was a secondary role to be abandoned as soon as the rider, if he was a boy, was old enough or could afford a weapon of his own. 177 224 492

Older informants recall that some Washo were hired as riders to accompany cattle herds to the railhead or into high range. It is significant that they mention specifically that only this temporary type of herding job was available and make it clear that no Washo became a year-round cowboy. 464 492

It appears clear from statements of informants that Washo quickly adopted the automobile and abandoned wagons and teams. As Cook points out, the automobile gave back to the pedestrian Indian a mobility he had lost during the interval between the appearance of the whites and the development of the automobile (Cook, 1941, 84). I feel that this change took place because the Washo had never made the adjustments necessary to maintain horses or other livestock efficiently, and therefore welcomed the automobile, which ceased to make demands on its owner's time and attention as soon as he turned off the ignition and got out. Moreover the appearance of the railroad within a few years after the arrival of the whites obviated the need for the horse for long-distance travel. Early day railroad "public relations" policy permitted Indians throughout the West to ride without charge. In return, the Indians often warned railroaders of broken track, washouts, and other obstructions. 177 489 492 493 177 489

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484 During the 1840's and '50's, and perhaps earlier, the Washo abandoned trading or gathering trips much beyond the eastern limit of the oak trees in California. Several unpleasant encounters with white gold washers had made them feel that the entire area was extremely dangerous. However, the lure of Sacramento, where many desirable items of white manufacture, including guns, could be purchased, plus the possibility of work in the fields in post-goldrush California, caused them to begin the trans-Sierran trips again in the last quarter of the 19th century. By this time the railroads had crossed the mountains. Washo would gather near a rail station in Nevada until enough Indians to fill a boxcar were present. The railroad officials then would assign them to an empty car and take them into California, often switching the car onto a siding to serve as headquarters for the Indians. During their stay west of the Sierra, the Washo worked on farms for money and food. In addition, they picked wild crops, particularly berries, to sell to white householders. When they wished to return, the boxcar was included in an eastbound train and the Indians returned to Nevada. Despite appearances of modernity, arrangements such as this required far less readjustment of Washo life and personal outlook than the complete adoption of the horse and wagon would have.

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177 Sheep herding plays an important part in the economy of eastern Nevada, but the Washo have been involved in this activity even less than in other livestock operations. I have no record of a Washo becoming a sheep herder, and, in fact, sheep are viewed as real competitors for natural plant foods, and the introduction of sheep into the area is viewed as a catastrophe. Most of the herds are owned by Basques, and a regular increment of Basque sheep herders is admitted to the United States to care for the animals. It is [517] interesting to note that in the summer of 1950 the most popular motion picture in the Gardnerville theatre, and the one most enthusiastically viewed by Indians and whites, was an imaginative epic describing the progress of a Basque wagon train through Indian country.

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231 The identification of the white man with his animals is suggested in a late 19th century newspaper account of a young Washo who went on a
579 "rampage" after an altercation with a white man. Rather than threatening or
154 attacking white people, the Washo killed several dairy cattle belonging to a white farmer.

177
231 The material presented in the previous page is sparse, because the history of Washo response to the animal husbandry complex introduced by the white man has been negligible. The response of the Washo was minimal and included only the most superficial aspects of the complex such as learning to ride and drive horses and acquisition of the minimum skills needed to maintain the animals. Husbandry, in the sense of learning the skills and attitudes needed to raise and maintain livestock, never found a place in the Washo way of life.

It is perhaps significant to recall that the earliest Washo experience with livestock revealed a knowledge of the various techniques of using large animals, i.e., riding, driving and packing. The fact that these experimental techniques were used on an ox or cow rather than a horse is significant in understanding the processes involved in the diffusion of animal-use techniques (Downs, 1961c). With the exception that these techniques were finally transferred to the horse we can say that the Washo developed very little beyond skills displayed in the first instance.

Although I cannot presume to offer a complete explanation of this situation, it would perhaps be valuable to attempt to answer the question of why the Washo did not respond to the potential of animal husbandry.

As a basis we may refer to the hypothesis set forth elsewhere in this volume, that for ecological and historical reasons the Washo tended to be oriented to the west rather than east. The great barrier of the Sierra offers little encouragement to the use of horses or the keeping of herds.

There also appears to be reason to hypothesize that Washo culture itself holds some of the answers to this question. From the very earliest contact Washo response to the new alternatives presented by white culture and technology has been to make a minimal adjustment of aboriginal behavior. Thus the Washo in part continued their gathering, hunting and fishing cycle without permanent homesites until the 1920's, when the last nomadic band became sedentary. White settlements were obviously viewed as sources of food either through temporary wage labor, which utilized aboriginal skills such as brush clearing and weed picking, or through attenuated gathering behavior such as begging, scavenging or theft. The livestock introduced by white men was looked upon primarily as a source of meat. Even today the Washo tend to live in terms of aboriginal orientation toward subsistence, involving a highly mobile opportunism that exploits the short term income possibilities of the economic system of western America. In the 19th century this minimal adjustment produced real rewards for the Washo. As commercial hunters and fishermen, harvest hands, brush clearers, woodchoppers, ranch hands, casual prostitutes and kitchen workers, etc., the Washo accepted jobs that whites, who had come west to make fortunes in ranching or even greater fortunes in mining or lumbering, did not care to perform. However, with the gradual restriction of hunting and fishing and the shift from field agriculture to stock raising in western Nevada, the Washo found their skills no longer in demand, and they entered a period of economic depression which continues at the present time.

Although the present social, economic and cultural condition of the Washo is vastly different from the condition of a century ago, it seems clear